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John Hays' Diary and Journal Of 1760

EDITED BY WILLIAM A. HUNTER

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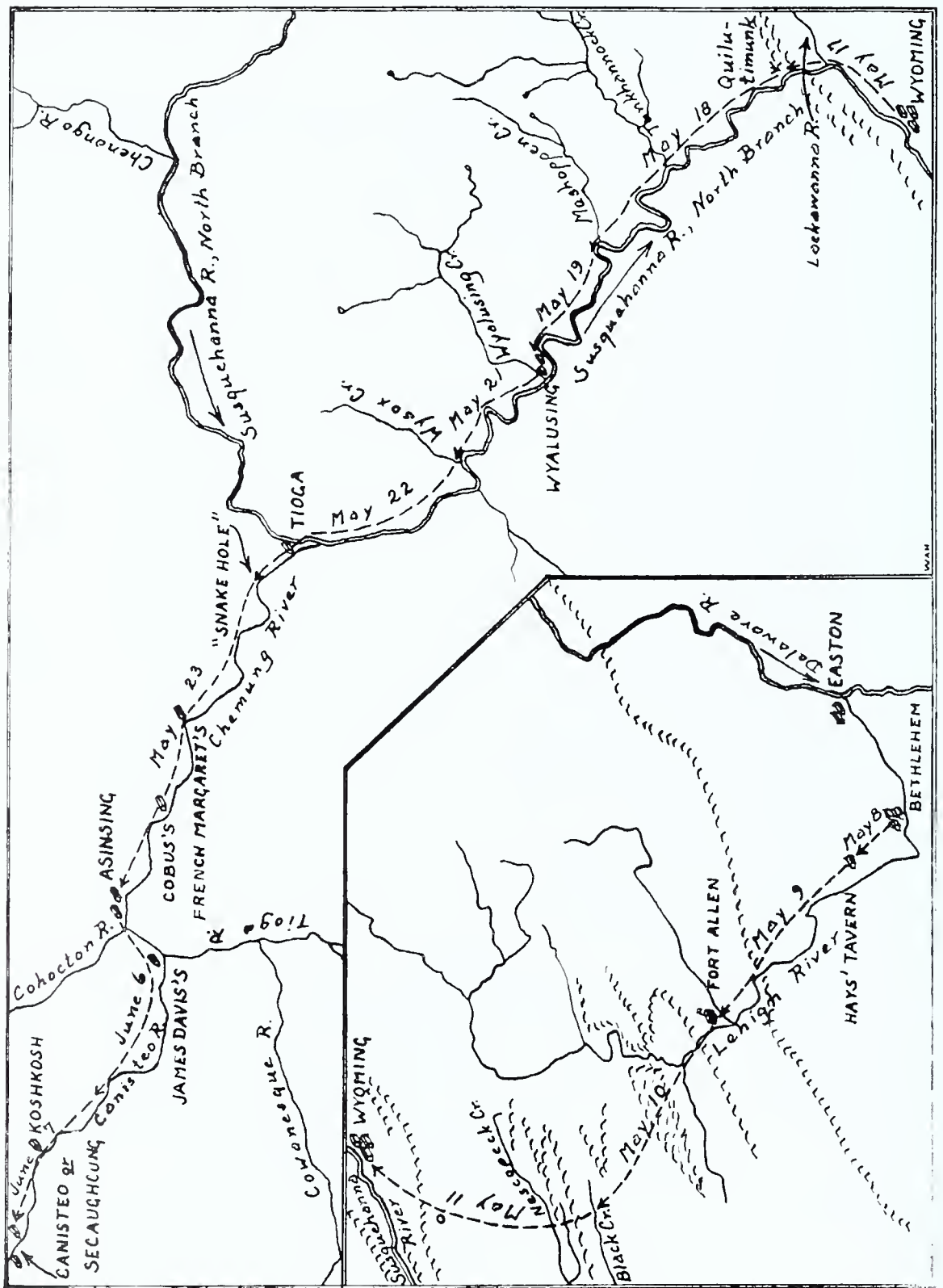
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John Hays' Diary and Journal Of 1760

EDITED BY WILLIAM A. HUNTER

The royal appointment of Sir William Johnson, in 1756, as Indian agent in the northern British colonies was by no means popular in Pennsylvania. The Penns regarded it as an infringement upon their charter; and the Provincial Assembly, engaged in a stubborn quarrel with the Proprietary officers, had their own reasons for wishing to negotiate directly with the neighboring Indians. A period of professed cooperation between the Lieutenant Governor and Sir William was satisfactory to neither of the two parties. In 1758, with the establishment of a British post at Pittsburgh, the rivalry sharpened. Pennsylvania hastened to set up at this place a Provincial store for the Indian trade, while Johnson placed here his deputy agent, George Croghan.

Teedyuscung's arrival at Philadelphia in December, 1759, with news that he had been invited to a great Indian council beyond the Ohio, seemed to offer the Province a golden opportunity. Governor Hamilton promptly named Teedyuscung a special emissary of the Province, and appointed the Moravian missionary, Christian Frederick Post, to accompany him in the guise of advisor, with instructions to invite the western Indians to come that summer to Philadelphia for a treaty. The prospect of attending the western council as special ambassador of the Province undoubtedly pleased Teedyuscung, whose prestige had declined somewhat since the days when he had acted as negotiator between the Province and the Indian nations; and it made less unpalatable the fact that he was to be advised by Post, who in 1758 had superseded him as Provincial messenger to the Indians.¹

As finally constituted, the Provincial embassy of 1760 included also two Christian Delawares, Moses Tatamy² and Isaac Still,³ to serve as interpreters, and John Hays, a Scotch-Irishman from present Northampton County, chosen by Post as travelling companion. Having taken care to strengthen his position by obtaining from the British commander, General Amherst, a message to be read to the western

1. See A. F. C. Wallace: KING OF THE DELAWARES: TEEDYUSCUNG (Philadelphia, 1949), not only for an account of this chief but also for the general historical background. Teedyuscung was described in 1756 as "near Fifty years old. He is a lusty, raw bon'd Man, haughty and very desirous of Respect and Command; he can drink three Quarts of a Gallon of Rum a Day, without being drunk." His style of dress is also on record; in 1760 the Province furnished him "a good Suit of Cloaths &c yt he may make an appearance answerab to ye Occasion," and shirts, handkerchiefs, blanket, straud, stockings, breechclout, shaes, and hat.

Post went twice to Wyoming for the Governor in June, 1758, and subsequently made two trips to the Ohio to draw the western Indians away from the French.

2. Original name, Tunda Tatamy; from New Jersey. In 1733 the Province of Pennsylvania surveyed land for him at present Stackertown, Northampton Co. He began in 1744 to serve as interpreter for the Presbyterian missionary, David Brainerd, who baptized him and his wife the following year. In 1758 he travelled to the upper Chemung River to invite the Munsees to a council with Gov. Bernard of New Jersey. He died about the end of 1760, aged about 65. One of his sons, William, was fatally shot in 1757, on the way to a peace conference at Easton. A daughter was cared for by the Friends during his absence on the embassy of 1760; and another son, Nicholas, also survived him. The Moravian, Count Zinzendorf, who visited Tatamy in 1742, described him as "a man of a remarkably quiet and modest deportment, who spoke English well, and had regulated his house-keeping much in the European style."

3. Isaac Still was also a Jersey Delaware; much younger than Moses Tatamy, but like him a member of Brainerd's Indian congregation. Acted as Provincial interpreter, 1758-1775. Accompanied Post on his second trip to the Ohio in 1758, and remained there until the following spring to visit western Indians with King Beaver, the Ohio Delaware. Died, not far from present Harrisburg, early in 1776, while on his way to the Ohio. He had a wife, Abigail, and a son, Joshua. In 1828, Samuel Preston remembered Isaac Still as "a full blooded Indian of dark Complexion a remarkable handsome well made man rather more than middle size & had very uncommon bright Eyes was always remarkable pleasant."

Indians, Post set out from Philadelphia on May 3. The interpreters, Tatamy and Still, had gone on ahead, but Post was accompanied by two other Indians (one of whom, Captain Bull,⁴ was a son of Teedyuscung), who had come from the Allegheny on some errand of their own and were now returning home. Leaving Bethlehem on May 8, Post stopped overnight at Hays' tavern (present Weaversville); and the party of two white men and two Indians reached Wyoming (present Wilkes-Barre) on May 11. Joined there by Teedyuscung and a few of his followers, the embassy, fourteen men in all, journeyed up the North Branch of the Susquehanna to Tioga Point, near the present New York boundary, and then followed the courses of the Chemung and Canisteo rivers.

As the party progressed, their journey became increasingly uneasy. At the Indian towns above Tioga, the embassy had a confused and somewhat antagonistic reception; and the delegation itself was split by the mutual jealousy of Post and Teedyuscung. At the town of Canisteo (called by the Delawares Secaughcung, or Passigachkunk)⁵ these strains were climaxed and resolved when the Senecas refused to per-

mit the two white men to go onward to the Allegheny by that route, and ordered them to return home.

Teedyuscung, accompanied by the two interpreters and a few other Indians, was allowed to go on; and his invitation delivered to the western Indians led, after repeated delays, to the Lancaster Treaty of 1762. Post and Hays returned home, and in early July submitted their journals to the Governor. Post's journal is not to be found among the State's records, though copies are preserved elsewhere; and it has not yet been published.⁶ Hays' journal survives in the Division of Public Records and was included among the documents published by Samuel Hazard in the first series of the PENNSYLVANIA ARCHIVES.⁷

More recently, through the efforts of Dr. S. K. Stevens and the kindness of Mrs. John C. Hays, a descendant of the journalist, the rough day-to-day diary kept by John Hays has also been made available. Hurriedly written under difficult conditions, hardly legible, this diary contains many details omitted from the more composed journal. Accordingly, both documents are here presented; the journal for its conciseness and greater legibility, the diary for its fuller and more vivid detail. In many instances the former clarifies obscure passages in the latter. Neither of Hays' accounts stresses the diplomatic side of the story, which appears in details in Post's journal, the rough notes for which have not been found.

John Hays, some twenty years Post's junior, was about thirty years old at the

4. Possibly the son mentioned in 1756 as Keomitos. He seems to have gone to the Ohio soon after this. In the spring of 1759 he went from Kuskuskie (New Castle, Pa.) to Pittsburgh, where he engaged to spy for the British garrison. Thereafter he seems to have visited in the East, and to have spent some time at Wyoming. Upon the outbreak of Pontiac's War, he massacred the Connecticut settlers at Wyoming, whom he may have held responsible for his father's death; and he and other hostile Indians then retired to Canisteo. Some of Johnson's raiders captured him early in 1764; and he was kept prisoner of New York until the conclusion of peace in May, 1765, when he was released. Samuel Lightfoot wrote of him in 1759 that "his carriage is affable & Genteel according to the Common acceptance"; Johnson described him, in 1764, as "a fellow of great address, but feigns an ignorance, & is full of prevarication, he is very likely & remarkably active." He should not be confused with John Bull, captain in the Pennsylvania Regiment, who commanded at Fort Allen in the summer of 1758 and accompanied Post on his second trip to the Ohio.

5. Canisteo is the Iroquois name, from a Seneca word for a board (according to Sherman S. and Clara Redeye, *ganisti'o* in modern Allegany Seneca). Passigochkunk (German spelling) is a

Delaware equivalent, from *passikach*, a board, and *-unk*, a locative suffix. In Provincial records a shorter form of the name, Secoughcung, is more common. (See note 55 below.)

6. References in the present article are based on a copy in the collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

7. Vol. III, pp. 735-741. This journal belongs to the papers of the Provincial Council, but the manuscript is now in a collection identified as "Journals and Diaries."

time of this mission. According to family tradition, he was born in Northern Ireland and was brought by his parents to America two years later, about 1732. His father, John Hays, kept a tavern at present Weaversville, near Northampton. The younger John Hays was married on October 21, 1760, a few months after his journey with Post; and the same notebook which contains his diary of that trip also records the birth of fifteen children, five born to Barbara King, who died in 1770, and ten to his second wife, Jean Walker. Hays served as a militia captain during the Revolution. Some years later, he travelled to present Meadville, Pennsylvania, to examine some land which the Moravians had offered to sell him; and while there he died suddenly, on November 5, 1796.⁸

Because Hays' diary is valuable for the picture it gives of the Indians then living on the Chemung River and its branches, it may be well to identify these briefly. At the outbreak of the French and Indian War, those Unami ("downriver") Delawares⁹ who had not moved to the Ohio lived about Shamokin (present Sunbury) and upward, along the North Branch; Nutimus¹⁰ (an "upriver" Delaware) lived

at Nescopeck; Teedyuscung,¹¹ formerly one of Nutimus' band, and Paxinosa,¹² a Shawnee, lived at Wyoming; Munsee Delawares lived about the mouth of the Lackawanna River and elsewhere. In 1755-56, however, almost all these Indians fled up the river, to Tioga and beyond; some of them went west to the Allegheny, others settled along the Chemung and its branches, as far up as Canisteo, under Seneca supervision. Nutimus, however, remained at his old home until 1758. Following upon a reconciliation at Easton in 1756, Teedyuscung returned to Wyoming, where the Province built him a new town; and a peaceful sect of Munsees moved back down the river to Wyalusing. In consequence of some later uneasiness, however, Nutimus also retired to the Chemung area; and in 1760, shortly before the time of Teedyuscung's embassy, Paxinosa removed from Tioga to the Ohio country.

The subsequent history of these Indians also deserves mention. About 1761, the Unami Delawares at Canisteo moved to the Ohio; and Nutimus moved to the Big Island, in the West Branch near Lock Haven. During Pontiac's War, raiders sent out by Sir William Johnson in 1764 drove the remaining Indians from the Chemung, and many of the fugitives established themselves on the upper Allegheny, in present Forest County, Pennsylvania. David Zeisberger, who journeyed by way of Canisteo (Passigachkunk) to the Allegheny in 1768 and 1769, found only

8. See also SCOTCH-IRISH OF NORTHAMPTON CO. (Easton, 1926), I, 80-81, 98-101, 116.

9. Unomi (Wenami) is a name applied in records of 1757 and later to those Delawares, formerly headed by Alumopees or Sossoonon (d. 1747), who regarded the lower Delaware River area, below Tohickon Creek, as their original home. In earlier records they are called "Schuylkill Indians" or "Delawares of Shomokin." For the meaning of the name, compare **nahih**, downstream; **nahimen**, to soil downstream; **nahiw**, down the water; and their counterparts, **nallahih**, **nallahemen**, **nallahiwi**, upstream, etc., in Brinton and Anthony: A LENAPE-ENGLISH DICTIONARY (Philadelphia, 1888), 90. For Unolimi, the counterpart of Unami, see note 10, following.

10. Originally from New Jersey, Nutimus lived in the 1730's in present Bucks Co., Pa., above Tohickon Creek, and signed the 1737 confirmation deed for the "Walking Purchase." He lived subsequently at Nescopeck, Canisteo, and the Big Island, where he is last mentioned in 1763. Stories of his later residence and death in the Ohio country involve confusion between "Old King Nutimus" and his son, Isaac Nutimus. The name "Unolimi, or up River Indians," which occurs in a document of about 1757 as a name for Nutimus' followers, never came into common use; in earlier records they are called "Delawares from the Forks."

11. See note 1, above. In 1762, Teedyuscung said he had been with Nutimus' band in the 1730's, and that he had later succeeded to Nutimus' place. See PAPERS OF SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON (Albany, 1921-), III, 778-779.

12. Appears in 1749 as one of the signers of a deed for land north of the Blue Mountain. His best-known place of residence was at Wyoming, near present Wilkes-Barre; but he moved to Tioga about 1758, and in 1760 went to the Ohio country, "where he was born." A later Shawnee settlement in present Ohio bore his name, and members of his family still lived in that vicinity in the 1770's. He was friendly toward the English, and his wife, Elizabeth, was a Moravian convert.

abandoned townsites on the upper Chemung. Teedyuscung's town at Wyoming was abandoned after his death in 1763; survivors removed to the west. The Wyandot Indians, on the other hand, took refuge at Philadelphia during this war; and their town, resettled after the war, survived until 1772 as the Moravian mission of Friedenshütten.

JOHN HAYS' JOURNAL, MAY 5—
JUNE 30, 1760

A memorandum inserted into the Provincial Record makes note of the return of Post and Hays, and adds that "Each of them deliver'd the Journal of their Travels and proceedings which are ordered to be lodged with the Council papers."¹³ Hays' journal, which seems to have been in official custody ever since, is contained in seventeen pages, 6½ by 7½ inches, since bound and stamped with the slightly inaccurate title, JOURNAL OF JOHN HAYS 1760. Comparison with the diary shows that the formal journal is the result of considerable rewriting. As might be expected, the journal is conspicuously more literary than the rough notes of the diary. Descriptions of Indian ritual, and other irrelevant material which appears in the diary, are excluded from the journal. Changes of spelling and some other revisions suggest assistance in rewriting. In the diary, Hays recorded the distance covered each day of travel, and usually noted the direction; yet these useful notes are omitted from the journal. The diary also records what Hays saw or heard of white prisoners among the Indians; this was in accord with Post's official instructions, but these data too are omitted from the journal. Whatever the reason for these omissions, it is to be noted that Post's journal lacks the same information.

In the following text, bracketed words in italics represent cancellations in the original manuscript; bracketed words in roman type indicate interlinear or marginal insertions.

Monday May 5th 1760—

Received A Letter from Mr Post with orders to be in Readiness and to come Down Next Day to Bethlehem to See him—

May 6th Tuesday Went to Bethlehem and Saw Mr Post Who told me he would be at my fathers¹⁴ the Eight consulted about fitting out and So Returned the Same Night

7th Wednesday Spent the Day in Getting Ready to Go

8th Thursday Got my Horse Shod and waited Mr Posts coming who came in the Evening—

Friday 9th Set out Early and arrived at Fort Allen¹⁵

Saturday 10th Heavie Wether Set off from Fort Allen at Eight oclock and traveled till it Was Late through a vast Desert Lodged in the Woods—

Sunday 11th Sett to the way Early and Arrived at Weoming¹⁶ in the Evening Where we were Informed that Teedyuscung was Set off on his Journey this Morning but they Sent for him Immediately on our coming—

Monday 12th Teedyuscung came home About Eleven oclock and we had Several conferences With him this Day—

Tuesday 13th Wrought at Making Belts and Strings of our Wampum Was Used Very Kindly and talked of Going Next Day—

14. Hays' tavern, present Weaversville, near Northampton, Pa.

15. Present Weisspart. Built 1756 by Benjamin Franklin, at the site of the former Moravian mission of Gnadenhuetten. In 1760 this post was commanded by an officer whom Richard Peters described as "a German one Wackerberg a poor creature who keeps no Authority and as Mr Post says gives Quantities of Provisions to a parcel of Indians yt are perpetually passing to and fro far Rum."

16. Wyoming, at present Wilkes-Barre.

13. Manuscript Provincial Record, S, 20; COLONIAL RECORDS, VIII, 491.

Wed: y 14 Very Rainy Wether So that we could not set out So we folowed our old Buisiness of Belt making—

Thursday 15 Wether the Same so that we wer Oblidged to Ly [Still] by as Before and Mad Belts—¹⁷

Friday 16 Designed Going But Teedyuscung would not Go Untill he had afeild of corn planted first and we all asisted him and planted it this Day—¹⁸

Satturdy 17th Set of Early and traveled Smartly Crosed a Large Creek about one clock Called ahlahonie¹⁹ and So folowed Our course up the East Side of the Sisquhana River till Night and Set up our tents in an Old Indian town called Q[u]elootama²⁰ Being fourteen in Number in all—²¹

Sunday 18th Wet Wether Never theless we traveled Smartly crosed avery Large creek called wash coking²² Lodged on the Banks of Sisquhana and had aVery Wet Night of it—

Monday 19th Set of Early tho wet and Arived at a town called Quihaloosing²³ the Governours Name Wampoonham²⁴ aVery Religeous civilised man in his own way and Shewd us agreat Deal of Kindness and we held a confrence with him this Evening and When Over Mr Post Gave us asermon at their Request—

Tuesday 20th they called us to council and Seemed to be Very freindly and Delivered to Teedyuscung three prisnors by astring and promised to bring them Soon Down this town is Situated on Sisquhana East side about twenty Houses full of People Very Good Land and Good Indian Buildings all New had Sermon this Evening again—

Wednesday 21st they told us there was another prisnor in their town but the man that had hir would not consent to Give hir Up yet but if he Did not he Should Leave their town We Set off about Eleven oclock and crosed Quihaloosing Creek about amile above the town Shortly after there came four Indians after us and told us there was bad News Where we Were Going for one of their Indians being out ahunting had Spied afire and comeing up to it there he found an Indian Lying asleep as he thought covered up with his Matchcoat and he presumed it was none of their people Seeing afrench Kettle and so was Going off When the Sleeper Awoke and Spying him Waved his hand to him as tho he wanted to Speake with him But when he came Back he could not Understand him nor the Other him but takeing the Delawar Gun to Look at [it] it as he thought Shot the Delaware through the arm and Broke it when the Delaware Ran away and Escaped tho hard pursued for a great Way²⁵ then we Loaded all with bullets and The Indians Seemed Exceedingly Afraid We traveled Through Swamps Rocks and Mountains About 15 Miles then came to the River and took up Lodgeing [at] On the Bank—²⁶

Thursday 22^d Set out Early and came to Diahoga²⁷ & Crosed the East Branch²⁸

17. On this date, Post records, "Mr. Hays & Isoac Still went o fishing but catch'd little or nothing."

18. We may wonder why this task was more urgent now than a week earlier, when Teedyuscung had set out without attending to it.

19. In Post's journal, **Lechchowechelegs**; Lackawanna River.

20. Quilutimunk or Wyalutimunk; near present Ransom, Lackawanna Co.

21. Listed in Post's journal: "Fred. Post, King Teedyuscung, Capt Jna. Bull, [Capt.] Amos, Lieut. Hays, Capt. Mases Tattamy, [Capt.] Isooc Still, James, Chappe, Chechequait, or George & his Wife Chupotetis."

22. Meshoppen Creek.

23. In Hays' diary, **Machailucen**; in Post's journal, **Machschlosung**. Present Wyalusing.

24. Not named in the diary or in Post's journal. A letter written by Post on May 20 calls him **papounnahong** (see PA. ARCHIVES, first series, III, 742). He had lived at Lackawanna, and had established his religious group about 1752. In 1758, Mases Totomy had met him above Tioga, but he settled at Wyalusing later that year. Baptized by the Maravians, June 26, 1763, he appears afterward as John Papunhong. He died in 1775, in present Ohio.

25. Post refers to this incident only briefly, under date of May 23, after he had been assured of its truth.

26. At **Wesachsing** (Wysox), according to Post.

27. Tioga Point, below present Athens, Pa.

28. The Susquehonno River, above the Point. Here, on July 3, 1758, "in woding the River Moses Tetomy was olmost drowned."

about 2 oclock Teedyuscung had a confrence with the cheifes and Sent Some Strings up the East Branch to the cheifes to Meet us at asinsan²⁹ and Set of Imediatly and went about 6 miles and Set up our camp at Snake hole—³⁰

friday 23^d Set of Early and Arived at asinsan³¹ in the Evening there Stayed all night—

Satturday 24th Sent astring to the Mingoes at Paciksakcunk³² to call them to council and Staid for the Return this Day the Indians Began to Sacrifice to their Gods and Spent the Day in avery odd manner Howling and Danceing Raveling Like Wolves and Painted frightfull as Divels—

Sunday 25th this Day our Messenger Returned without any Answer³³ the Indians went on in the Same Manner as Yesterday—

Monday 26th the Indians Haveing Got Rum Got Drunk all in General Except Some old men and Teedyuscung Behaved well on this Ocasion for when his Sone³⁴ brought in the Kegg with Rum he would not taste it we were Very Much Abused and Scolded by the Indians and thretned Often to Rost us—

Tuesday 27 this Day about one clock Daniel Benet³⁵ came Down from the Mings

town and told us that they Bid us welcome to this town but if we came any farther they Would Rost us in the fire and that they Desired that none of the Nations on Sisquahana Should Give their prisnors it was their orders that that they Shou^d keep them and Bid us Go home the Way we came and come any farther we held council Imediatly to conclude What was best to be Don With the King and Cheifs present and their minds were that we Should Stay some time till they would See the Reasons and Said they would Make them come to council and Give their Reasons it was atime of Danger But we trusted that God would Protect us and Direct us for the Best Both as to our particular Sircumstances and Publick Good—

Wed^y 28 the Indians told us that S^r William Johnston has Corospondence with the french³⁶ some told us to Go home and Bury the Indians that were Kiled Near Carlile³⁷ or they Would come and Bury them them Selves Soon, We took Teedyuscung out and Began to talk with him by him Self concerning our haveing to turn back he told us the Mingoes and Governour Use to have Confrences by themselves and did not trouble him but Said he was afool & he would not have any [*hand in it*] part in their Diferences and hoped [*now*] that their Roguery Would be found out now—³⁸

Thursday 29th Waited for Some Mesages but came not

friday 30th we began to Make Ready Belts and Strings and Speeches Wrote in a Large

29. Post says, "to call the Nanticokes [at Chenango], Mennissings, & Mohickons, to meet us at Atsenetsing."

30. Identified by Post as "Aschkokuckwawalochtet, (which Signifieth a hole where the Snakes harbour)."

31. Called by Post **Atsenetsing**. A Munsee town just east of present Painted Post, N. Y. As previously noted, Moses Tatamy had visited this place in 1758.

32. This message probably was sent by the Indians; the diary records, vaguely, that "they had Sent for the chifes," and Post makes no mention of the matter. **Paciksakcunk** is Post's **Sekachkung** or **Pasekachkung** (see note 5 above). **Mingoes** is a term loosely applied to any of the Six Nations or to Indians of other origin incorporated with them.

33. The diary dates this incident May 26; Post reports it on the 27th.

34. Identified in the diary and in Post's journal as Captain Bull.

35. Identified by Post as **Shomoko Daniel**. Also known as Essoweyowallund, Shamokin Daniel appeared at Philadelphia in 1758 as a messenger from Secaughcung. He subsequently accompanied Post on the latter's first trip to the Ohio, and tried to sell him to the French at Ft. Du-

quesne. He was among the hostile Indians in Pontiac's War.

36. This story may refer to a meeting on Feb. 13-14, at which Six Nations Indians told Johnson that they had met with pro-French Iroquois delegated by tribes in the French interest.

37. A Delaware Indian, Doctor John, and his family had been murdered near Carlisle in February.

38. Teedyuscung had made this same complaint to Governor Denny in October, 1759. Probably he refers to the private conferences at the 1758 Easton Treaty, when Six Nations spokesmen had denounced Teedyuscung's claims to authority.

hand that Isace Still Might Read them,³⁹
We Got word that the Meseag we Sent
from Diahog is on foot but no Answer from
it But we all waited for it Teedyuscung
Got my Gun and Gave me a litle fuzee
for it—

Sat:y 31st Waited without any Answers
—⁴⁰

June 1st we Sent a Mesuag with Moses
tamey and Cap^t Bull Teeduscungs son to
the Mingoes Again—⁴¹

Mon:y 2:^d we were Diverted With astrang
Storey that they told us of the Indians
at Diahoga Seeing a Vision in the Moon
on May the 29th Viz that they Saw 2
horses in the Moon one came from the
East the other from the west and they
fought abatle and the Eastly horse pre-
vailed and threw the other Down and fell
atop of him and then Men apeared about
one foot Long from the East and Drove all
before them [*the S*]— turn over⁴²

the Indians were Very Much Greived
at this Strang sight and Wanted to
Know our opinions of it but we thought
best to say nothing about it⁴³ Moses and
Bull came Back in the Evening and
brought the Disagreeable Answer that we
must Go back and and proceed any far-
ther for they had Some bad people in their
country and they Would not come to us for
they Durst not trust us because of them
that was Killed Over Sisquhana—⁴⁴

Tuesday 3^d we Delivered Several Belts and

Strings and other things [to Teedyuscung]
that we could Spare and that he had need
of⁴⁵ in the Evening Robert whites son
came⁴⁶ with a Letter and Belt and string
and Very Agreeable Speeches—

Wednsday 4th We thought to Set home-
wards but it Rained Very hard they told
us they wanted to have more talk before
we came away with us young white and
the King⁴⁷ had along talk by them selves
and we waited for the council Meeting
and Shod our horses Expecting to Go
Some Up and Some Down we were alway
alarmed with Some Bad News they told us
of one of their women that was Killed at
Albany

Thursday 5th there was agreat Sacrific
ahogg Which Gathered Agreat Number of
them together and after their Sarificial
Rites were Over they Encouraged us to Go
on But we could not see it clear for the old
father Mingo⁴⁸ always Sent us word not
Go but that Teedyuscung and his Indians
Might Go but that we should not Go Nor
any White man Should pas through their
country But being Unwiling to turn and at
the Request of Teeduscung who Was De-
sireous of our company We [*Ventured*]
Designed to Go as far as Paseckachkunk if
possible.

Friday 6th We all Set of for Paseckachkunk
and came James Davises⁴⁹ about Noon and
Dined With him plentifuly but proceeded
farther tho it Rained Lodged on the bank
of the West Branch⁵⁰ in Woods—

39. Post says, "I gave Isaac Still my Messoge to carry to the Mingoes." Two days later he changed his mind and gave the messoge to Moses Totomy. Still's ability to read is also mentioned in Post's second Ohio journal of 1758.

40. Post records that on this day "Mr Hoy went out to shoot Pidgeon's but got none."

41. Post says the Indians decided "to send o Mes-
soge to Sochkochkung [Secoughcung] to com-
pell the Unamoas [Unamies] . . . to come down.
They desired me to do the some to the Mingoes
at Sachkachking, as they themselves would
have nothing to do with them."

42. This marks the end of the seventh page of the manuscript.

43. The story probably was told the white men in expectation that their response would reveal their motives. Post tells of o somewhat similor incident on June 10.

44. See note 37 above.

45. The white men are preparing to return home, as ordered by the Mingoes; Teedyuscung is to go on to the western council. It will be noted that Hays' memoranda, printed at the end of the present article, record a sole of supplies on this date.

46. Robert White (Wolahcremy or Ullouckquam) was chief of the Nonticokes of Chenango.

47. Teedyuscung.

48. Presumably the Seneco spokesman (Kinderunt? See note 141 following).

49. James Davis, or Awehela, was on Unami Delaware. After Pontiac's War he was instrumental in establishing a Moravian mission at Sheshequin, and on May 18, 1769, became its first convert.

50. Presumably this refers to the present Canistota River, in contrast to the present Tiago River, which would have taken them south. According

Saturday 7th Rained Very hard [we] Sent Bull⁵¹ before us Early and we all followed pased Several Litle Towns arived at Paseckachkunk about four oclock after croseing the River five times this town Stand on the South Side of the River⁵² and is in two parts at the Space of amile Distance Where ther is two Sorts of people the Nearest part is peopled with Wonamies⁵³ Quitigon⁵⁴ is their Cheif the Uper part is Mingoes which commands All that country⁵⁵ We halted at the Lower town and in the Evening there came nine or ten from the Mingo town and Looked Very Sower and Divilish But went of after Some time Sunday 8th the Indians Gathered Up from all the Litle towns we had pased above Diahog to See w:^t would be Done—

Monday 9th this Day Waited for the council to Gather and was Entertained at a Sacrifice of the first Deer aman had kiled this Season we sent for the Old Mingo father to come to council and he came and heard our Speeches Which pleased him and promised Us an answer tomorrow—

Tuesday 10 We Got an answer from him to this Efect that he Liked our Business and called [it] a good work But that

we asked him ahard Qestion that was whither we might Go through his country or not but [we thought] he had Sent a Mesage away to his Cheife and that he had Got no Answer as yet so could not Give us any—

Wed:y11 the Delawares and Wonamies and Muncies⁵⁶ Held [could] council and all aGreed on it that we were to Go forward on our Journey and Quitigon was to Go with us But we must Stay Untill he would Get his New house covered there was Rum in this town But Teedyuscung would not Drink of it nor Alow any of his company to Drink But when he was Invited to it Said it was not to Drink that he came here but to Do Greater Buisness—

Thursday 12th We being in Want of Provisions we Bought abull Which cost 1400 Wampum⁵⁷ and Rosted the flesh for our Journey the Delawares and Muncies went of all away home but before they went of they Lifted a Large colection of Wampum for our Suport on the Journey—

friday 13th We went to work at Quitogons House the Misquiteis Bit us So bad that I was Oblidged to Wrap my hankercheif about my face there was none that Stayed but Isace Still and Jamey peepy⁵⁸ and me [and] for their young men Went all away to the Other town and Got Drunk So the work went Slowly on—

Saturday 14th we Got word that the french

to the diary, they travelled about 20 miles in a northwest direction from "Asinsan."

51. Captain Bull.

52. See the diary for a discrepant statement of the time of arrival and of the position of the town.

53. Unamies, called by Post **Unamoos** or **Unamowa**. The name does not appear in Hays' diary.

54. Not named in the diary until June 12. Post calls him **Quetackon** or **Kewetoickond**. He appears in the 1740's among the followers of Alumapees, who died in 1747. After some delay, Alumapees' nephew Shingas, who had moved to the Ohio, was appointed his successor; but "Quitigon" seems to have become the chief of those Unamies who remained on the Susquehanna. By June, 1761, he had moved to Kuskuskies, at present New Castle, Pa.

55. Compare a statement of July 9, 1758, by Lawrence Burck, a trader who lived at this place (see COLONIAL RECORDS, VIII, 147; PENNA. ARCHIVES, first series, III, 478-9): "On his examination says. That 20 of these Indians now present besides himself & Wife came from the Town where he lives situate about Sixty Miles on the Cayuga Branch above Diahogo called Secachkunk. Kaniushty or Board Town.

"a Town about 2 miles above his in it are Mesquackon. 9 families. Kaniushto" (MS. Provincial Papers, XXVII, 23).

The **Mesquackon** were a band of Fox Indians who had settled among the Senecas. Post notes their presence at the council held on June 9.

56. The Munsees (or Minisinks) were northern Delawares from near the northern corner of New Jersey, with whom other bands had become incorporated. For the Unamies, see note 9 above. As used here (and in Post's journal), the name **Deloware** seems to include any bands other than Munsees and Unamies.

57. According to the diary, the cost was 3 pounds 10 shillings, indicating an exchange rate of 20 wampum to a shilling.

58. James Peepy was a step-son of Joseph Peepy, one of David Brainerd's Indian congregation, who had moved to Teedyuscung's town at Wyoming and later became associated with the Moravians. Minutes of the Friendly Association record, Dec. 20, 1756, "that Joseph Peepys desires we would take his wife's son, named James, aged about seventeen years, and put him an apprentice . . . for four years, between this and next spring; the parents and the lad prefer a wheelwright trade."

had besieged the English at the falls or Niagra and that they were fighting now⁵⁹ [&] that there was 7 or 8 Mohawk⁶⁰ kings on their Journey and they Expected they would be with us this Night

Sunday 15th Instead of the 7 or 8 kings ther was but 2 Captains and a few cheifs or councilers came they Held aconference with us the king told them his Businiss and they took it to a consideration and so parted with us freindly but Reconed it Very Hard to Grant us Liberty to Go throw their country and Likewise to Demand our people that they had prisnors for there was an old agreement that no white man Should pas throw their country for fear of Spyes to See their Land—

Mon: y 16 we Got our final Answer to Go home and they were Sory that we wer in Teedyuscungs Bosom for they Said [they feared it] [it] Would be bad for them and the Delawares on Sisquhana for perhaps ther Would Rise astorm and the Limbs would fall and Knock our Brains out and they and the Delawares would be Sorry for it Lest they Should be Blamed for it and that they Had begun a good Work of peace themselves and Was Going to Alegeny Soon to confirm it⁶¹ But was positive in their Answer that we Must Go home but Mr Post Insisted Upon aReason and a Liberty to Speake further Upon it which [which] they alowed and Invited him to come up to the Mingo part of the town Next Day and they would Hear him

Tuesday 17 we went up to the place where we had been often threatned if we came they would Rost us⁶² but they were Civel

to us when there altho one fellow⁶³ Gave me Great Blow across the Back as we were Going up to the town Mr Post Made a speech and their Answer was that they Desired us to pity their womon and Child:en and Go Back and we Must Go Back then we Resolved we would not Insist any further finding it was to no purpose but Make ourselves Ready as Son as possible to come home again.

Wednesday 18 Waited all Day for an Escort to conduct us Safe Back again [*in Safty*] Quitigon Made agreat complaint that he had don a great Deal for the English but had never Got any Reward for it and and that he had no horse So we concluded to Give him in the Name of the Governour the horse and Saddle that I Rode to Go to Alegeny

Very Wet Wether—

Thursday 19th Took Leave of Our fellow travilers and and Set of home altho we were not Sory to Leave that place yet we were Sory to turn Back So fruitles The King Sent Moses and the Mohawks Sent four of their young men with us⁶⁴ as far as James Davises wher we stayed all night—

Friday 20th Waited for an Escort⁶⁵ and wer Very Kindly Used this is an Ordinary Country Nothing but Mountains and Rocks and pine timber Save the Small Low lands the Indians plants their corn on

Saturday 21st Very Rainy Weather Waited Still for an Escort—

Sunday 22 Moses [tatamy] altho Ordered

59. Sir William Johnson had taken French Ft. Niagara on July 25, 1759. The present rumor was false, and perhaps was invented to alarm Post and Hays.

60. **Mohawk**, like **Mingo**, was loosely applied to any of the Six Nations.

61. From data in Post's journal and elsewhere, it appears that this may refer to the Sandusky councils to which Teedyuscung had said he was invited.

62. See the entry for May 27.

63. Identified in the diary as **Posckokung**. Post, in his entry for this day, identifies him as a Shawnee, and later gives his name as **Pashechguo**; he may be the Shownee named Passechguon who attended the Easton treaty of Nov., 1756. See also the entry in Hays' diary for June 17, and the accompanying note.

64. Post says there were three "Mingoes"; that Teedyuscung sent one of his young men; and that Tatamy returned of his own choice.

65. Post reports, on this date, that Tatamy and the young man had changed their minds and decided to accompany Teedyuscung. Post meanwhile dismissed the three "Mingoes" on the pretext of staying some time at James Davis's.

to come home with us Left us this Day Saying he had Some Business to Do for the Quakers and could not Know what to Say to the Qakers if he Did not Go along and would not come any further with us but went after Teedyuscung, we Got an Escort⁶⁶ and Set of and traveled Smartly till we came to asinsan and had Some Discourse with Eghohowin the Governour of the town⁶⁷ who told [us] he had no orders from the Mingoes to Bring in any prisnors and he Did not Mind Teedyuscung Seeing he had no Orders from them pased on [and] Untill Night and Lodged in the Woods

Mondy 23 it Rained Very hard but we Set off and came to french Margrets⁶⁸ about ten oclock and Got Breakfast She being Very Kind She Made complaint and Said She Did not Know what to Do for She had been Ill Used at Shomokein⁶⁹ and threatned and that [they told her that]⁷⁰ Mr Petters⁷¹ had Said That hir and hir family Shou^d be apprehended and She

Said She had Some prisnors She Wanted to Bring Down but Durst not Bring them But we promised hir protection and Safety if She came this Road by fort allen Notwith Standing it Rained We Set of and came to [fort] Diahoga and stayd there all Night

Tuesday 24 the River was Very high and Dificult to crose but we Swam our Horses Over and Got a canoo for our Selves and Bagage and pushed on over hills and Mountains an Extream bad Road and cam to Quihaloosing Creek after Dark but could not Get Over in to the town So w made fire and Stayd all Night

Wednsday 25th Got Over in the Morning to Quihaloosing with Dificulty and Stayed all Day waiting for an Escort and Guide— Thursday 26 Set off and John Rodgers⁷² came with us it Began to Rain Very Hard we Got a canoo & Rodgers went in it and took our Bagage by watter and we Rode along Shore We met about noon and Eat Something then I took the canoo my Spell till night and Swamed our Horses over a great Creek and Stayd there all Night but Got litle Sleep the Knates Bit So hard—

Friday 27 Very Rainy weather Mr Post took the cannoo this Morning and the horses and about Eleven oclock we came to a narow pass wher the horses with Hight of the River was oblidged to Swime a considerable way and had to all in the Canoo then took our horses again and had to Swim another Large Creek & Climbe many ahill So that our horses were almost wore out but at Lenth we Got to Weoming thank God—

Saturday 28 Set of from Weoming and and traveled Over the Mountains and Lodged in the woods and had Very wet Weather

66. According to Post, a messenger who had arrived June 19 from Wyalusing and was now returning home. In his diary, under date of June 25, Hays identifies the escort as "Tobe Deanes . . . and A nother Man"; and says that James Davis also accompanied them to "Asinsan."

67. The diary does not mention this interview; and Post says it took place June 21, at James Davis's. Post's version is probably the correct one. This Munsee chief was one of three to whom Moses Tatamy had delivered a message in 1758 (see note 2 above); and he was the head of the Munsee delegation to the Easton treaty of that year. It appears from Hays' diary and Post's journal that they had lived in his house at "Asinsan" on their upward journey. After Pontiac's War, this chief lived at Sheshequin.

68. French Margaret was probably a niece (though also called a daughter) of the well-known Madam Montour, of French-Indian origin. Before the French and Indian War, French Margaret lived near present Franklin and Williamsport, Pa., but by 1756 had moved to the Chemung, at or near present Elmira, N. Y. Her husband is called Katarioniecha or Peter Quebec; a son, Nicholas Quebec, and two daughters, Mary and Catherine, appear in contemporary records. Post's journal notes that on the upward journey the embassy passed French Margaret's on May 23, without stopping.

69. Shamokin, present Sunbury, Pa., site of Ft. Augusta and of a Provincial trading post. French Margaret and her family had been there to trade in early May.

70. Written in the margin.

71. Richard Peters, the Provincial Secretary. Presumably, the threats had been made by the garrison commander, Col. Hugh Mercer, or by the Provincial agent, Nathaniel Holland.

72. Apparently another Indian living at Wyalusing; he accompanied Post and Hays to Wyoming. The name of John Rogers appears in the records of the Shamokin trading post.

Sunday 29 Set out Early and it Rained we Rod Lehi So Deep that [y^e] water came Over the Horses Withers and Arived at fort allen at five Oclock

Monday 30 Set of Early and came to my fathers against Noon &c &c

JOHN HAYS' DIARY,
MAY 17—JUNE 28, 1760

The following text covers 35 pages of a small notebook, the remainder of which is filled with business accounts, family records, home remedies, and other data. Almost all of these are of later date than the diary; three memoranda relating to the journey of 1760 will be found at the end of the present article. Two sheets of the notebook have broken loose, and the apparent loss of two others probably explains the somewhat abrupt beginning on May 17. Fortunately, the earlier entries probably contained little of exceptional importance. The diary has all the earmarks of hastily written notes. There is no division of sentences, spelling is notably irregular, and hurried penmanship is aggravated by accidental confusion of letters.

This diary presumably was written at Post's suggestion; and the notes regarding white prisoners are in accord with his official instructions.⁷³ It also contains a record, however, of many matters irrelevant to the official purpose of the trip; and in this irrelevant material, eliminated in preparing the official journal, lies most of the diary's value.

The text has been transcribed from the manuscript original, a microfilm copy of which is in the custody of the Historical and Museum Commission. As in the printed text of the journal, bracketed words in italics represent cancellations in the original manuscript, and bracketed words in roman type indicate interlinear or margin-

nal insertions. Empty brackets indicate damaged or illegible portions of the manuscript.

17 Seterdy we Set out⁷⁴ A Nore corse A Bought 8 Miles we cr[] A Lehoiene⁷⁵ and Eate Our Diner an[] Went A North corse till Night and Lodged in Quelotmoe that Night 12 miles we had in Number 12 ind[] in compen[]⁷⁶

18 Sundy Moring we Treveled and had A wat Day and came to Tinguane[]⁷⁷ abot 13 miles and came to A Nother crice cal[] Weshaking⁷⁸ we came A Bough[] 30 Miles that Day—

19 Mondy Weat in the Mornin[] we Set of and came to a Tow[] caled Mo-chailucen⁷⁹ A Bought Three A clock and Picked our Tents and Eat Diner Our Cook was Neaxy and Maid Very Bad Brot[] For ous⁸⁰ I could Not Joene With then [And] That is A Pout Ten Miles 10 Miles [xxx] we held A confrances that Night and had Prayers by Mis Poist⁸¹ that Nig[]

20 Tustey We were cald to A confrance and the Seemed in A very Good Dispesion fo[] Peas and Very cind and Give us [] of Provesion in⁸² A mesort o[] Bene cakes and [] []c Heald two or thre confrances [] Them and the Deliverd to the King⁸³ [3] Prisener In trelys But I have Not Sen them vet the Towne Stanes in A fine Place and they hav find Buldings and Lives very Well and hase Plenty of corn and [A] A Fine Place of Land And there is About Sixty in Counsel of Men Which Seemed Very Rclidges Peing De-

74. From Wyoming; compare the journal entry for this date.

75. Lackawanna River.

76. For these Indians' names, see note 21 above.

77. Tunkhonnock Creek.

78. Meshoppen Creek.

79. Wyalusing.

80. "Our cook was nosty and made very bad uth for us."

81. Mr. Post.

82. The phrose which follows is indistinct and doubtful.

83. Teedyuscung, whose name does not appear in the diary.

73. COLONIAL RECORDS, VIII, 469-472; the reference to prisoners will be found on page 471.

sires to hae Mr Poist ot Spak [o] to them This Night we Saw the Prisners and there wase two Presented and they Said they had A Nother that was Not at home that Would come With them two one Litele Girel Named Yonica [12]⁸⁴ Vanata from Alinick & another Mary frome [minicg] Tulphaking & A li el Boy Name was John His Parents Not None by us⁸⁵ But they had one that they Would [Not] Let us hav it but they Say he Must give it up if he Will Liv in their Town

21 Wendy A Bout 11 A clock we Set of and When we had Gone A Bout A Mile or two there came fore Inding After us⁸⁶ And Said that there wase Bade Nues Were we were Going and 6 Day A Go []er wase one of thire Indeings []t out to ho it and [he Sawe] A Fier and A Inden ng Lying at it he prsived [And a Ma ie] He Wase None of their Papel for h[] had A Frensh catel And he woak and weaved His hand and would have him to come to him and Wen he came he Tuk his Gune and Looked at it and at Last Shot at hime Brok his arme and he Rine A way and Got home and they had Summe Discurs But cold Not onder Stand Eac other But he Said he wase Lost and That there wase Six in compeney and they are Very much A feard of ware and We All Loded With Baule for wa[] We went A North corse A Bought 14 Miles Very Bad Roade and Lodged On the River⁸⁷ Got Sume Vinison and The Seemed All A fraic of ware

22 Thirsdy Mornig we had Tea till Bracfast [and we] and we Went A Bought 14 Miles and crosed Migoa River A Bout

two A cloce and had Sum take [with] A Chife and ther is Sum Litel Houses⁸⁸ and Sent by the King to Gethere them To Gether to hold councel in Sume of the Townes and we went A Bout 6 Mills that Night and We Lodg in Snake Hole

[]3 And Set of and came to cobes⁸⁹ Were we Got cine Usige and A Sump[t]es Diner & had Good Buter & Melk & Went on Our Jiurney & we Saw one Litel Prisner with A old Squa & we Sawe Sume Sorts of Hill chimies⁹⁰ & arived at A Sinsan that Night A Norwest corse ABought 25 Miles

24 Seterdy the Were all in Gaged in A kind of worship and had Provided threer jineson and Two Beares and the west out Till the wodes and A Bout 10 CI and came home A bout 11 or 12 cloce and were Dresed Lik Pilg[m]rimes and there wase 3⁹¹ men and Two Wemen and 2 men & 2 Wemen and two Men and they had Grat Bunches of Flours one there heades and was Striped and pinte Be[yon]ond Neater⁹² Sume Had Grene Rodes in thir hands and Snaks and Birdes & wonder full things Pented on them All colers One mane was Rid & one Womean Black they came in A String and they were All Naked from the Belt up and Went Rownd the house and went in and Dansed on and they Went out Sum times and Looked To wardes the Sun Rising Very oftens and tinued Night and Day and ther Wase A Grat Dell of Strengers Indings that Never Saw the Lik be fore Sum Old Men⁹³ they

84. Apparently, the name **Mary** was originally written here. The numeral **12**, written above the name, perhaps indicates the girl's age.

85. Post's list appears to be more accurate: "A Boy, his Name is Jacob from Tulpehocken, was brot. to this Town from Allegeny. A Girl Janetie, was taken from the Menissinks a Daughter of Peter Van Etten. A Young Woman, named Mary, born at Bedford in New England, but they cod. not tell me where She had been taken."

86. Post says, "Six Miles from thence three Indians from Atsenetsing overtook us."

87. At Wysox; see note 26 above.

88. This is superimposed on another word, and is uncertain.

89. Post gives the name of the place as **Queanashake**, probably near present Big Flats, N. Y. Cobus was a Delaware Indian whom Moses Tatamy had visited here in 1758. Post notes that he had formerly lived at Wyoming.

90. Hill chimneys? Perhaps the cliff formations on the south side of Chemung River.

91. Apparently, **5** was first written.

92. "Painted beyond nature."

93. "Many strange Indians, some of them old men, who had never before seen the like." Post reports that Cobus had told him "that there were a great Number of Indians together at Atsenetsing to revive an Old quarterly Meeting which

had Sent For the chifes but is Not com yet

25 Sundy & they Song Never Went out of theire Mouth & A Bout one A cloce We were All invited in to Diner & we Sat till he⁹⁴ Shaked his Shell and Sung & Locked up and Danced A Great While and in his on way asked A Blesing and at Last he Give the chief A Porshion in his hand and A Dish Full to our king and it Lay on the Skins that was on it and the Seven that wase Pented Got two Peses of Fleash and one cace of Bread and we went in and and eat our Dinear and the Preast came in and Give Sum Litel pees of A Belt That was cot for that Bisness and Every one that Got of that and Sum got the Skines of the flesh Went out to Give thanks and they Looked to the Sun Rising and holocd With the Litel wampom in their hand and the Skines A Bout their Sholders our king Went From his Game of cards⁹⁵ and came Back Played to Lock

had been many Years loid oside, in which they related to each other their Dreams and Revelations every one had had from his Infoncy, & what Strength & Power they had received thereby."

Post describes the ceremany as follows:

"24th. It was a very fine Day, & about 9 oClock they began their grand Festival, which afforded us an opportunity of seeing their Stupid & Tragical way of Worship. Their Priests or Conjurers, with about 10 Women, went first into the Woods to point themselves according to their different Chorocters, their whole Bodies were pointed all over with various Colours, some with the Addition of Rattle Snakes, some with Squirrils, others with Trees Birds &c. Thus adorned or rather disfigured, they come oll in a Row into the Town singing as they went e. g. One of them begon singing: 'I sow two English Bids flying together in Love,' which oll the others repeated again 4 Times, after which they went in Procession 4 Times round the Meeting House & then turning their Faces toward Sun rise, hollawed all together os long as they had any Breath; Then they shook Hands with one another & coll'd all the People to enter the House with them where they continued Wolk-ing, Singing & hollowing the whole Day & Night untill 6 oClock in the Morning, when a Certain Spirit came over them & many wept bitterly.

"25th. In the Morning the whole Company came out & stoad in a Row towords Sun-Rise lifting up their Hands tawords Heaven & hollow'd Six Times with all their Force, shook Honds with one another and then went to every House to wish them o joyful good Morning. They come to us also, wish'd us the some, gave us their Hands in Love & Friendship & invited us to their Dinner."

94. Probably the "old priest" later mentioned; see note 109 below.

95. This is an interesting example of Indian adoption of white customs.

and Peas the Skines wase Given to the old Squas and they Had them A Bout there Sholders and holocd Stoutly and There came A cege of Rum and Our king told his Young Men That they Should Not Drink But Bull⁹⁶ Did Not Here him and Went out and was out that Night

26 Mondy A Bout Ten A Clock Bull⁹⁶ came in With the cege of Rum to his Father the king took [*one Drame*] [not on Drope] and Sent it [out] with Eameas⁹⁷ They were Dronk in Every corner We were A Still as Mis and quait Sum of them Wanted to have Rosted us for they Like as Maney Raiging Divels And Sum of the chieffes would not Teast of the Rum or We would have had A Bad time of hit we Looked the cloce Very often and Woushed for Night which came the Rum Wase Out and they Got Quait A Gaen The Meschender came Back and told That they would Not com⁹⁸ but we Weated for Sume Oth[e]re Mesches that was Not yet com we Slepe Well and Hoped that w might Never See the Like A Gean We had Sum Sport but Dorst not Lauf at it for it was So Strains A thing

27 Tustudy this Day was A Day [of] ware Very Bad News A Bout one A Clock I went to a frolick of Making of Fency & Deneal Benit⁹⁹ came Down from the Min-gos town A Bout half A days Jorney of¹⁰⁰ and Said they Bid us Welkem To this town But if we came [*an*] aney forder they Would Rost Us in the Fire and that they Desired that None of the Natons on Sischania Shold Give up aney of the Pris-ners it was there orderes that they Shold keep them and Bid us Go home they wa[] we cane and Not come any far[]

96. Captain Bull.

97. Amas, Teedyuscung's oldest son. He and his wife, Justina (a sister of Post's second wife, who died in 1751), had been baptized by the Moravians on Dec. 14, 1750, at which time Amos is said to have been about 22 years old.

98. See note 33 above.

99. See note 35 above.

100. The "upper town" at Canisteo (Secaughcung).

And Council was Held By the king And the chifes that was there and They thought it Best that we Would Stay Sume tim til we Need What was the Reason of it and the would mak them come to councel and know the Reason that we Must Now G Go hom the Evening was Very Devl¹⁰¹ But we Staid hoping that God Would Preserve us out of their Hands and Derict us for the Best and the Publick Good

28 Wensdy Not Ebony¹⁰² they have¹⁰³ We herd that Sir Milliam Jonston Hase coriespond With the frensh and More thay arc Mad A Bout The Inding that wase Killed over Siscuhano they Bad us Go hom and Bery them or We will Go and Bery Them our Selves Soone I have Seene Since I came to this Place But 3 Presners one wase A Girel A bout 18 Yeres of Eage [& A Nother] [But I Spoak to hir] and She would not Spak to Me I No not from where She came from and I Saw A [Boy of A Bout 14 Years old] I Saw A Litel Girel A Bout 5 or 6 Years old I now Noting of hir name the Boys Name is Daniel Williames from Mincsike his Father was kild and his Mother is Gon up to Jonston H Wase A Bout 14 years¹⁰⁴ And we went out to A confrance with The king And Expect we Will Sone part and the King Said he Would have No part in the Diferance But Would Let the Gov[e]roner and the Siniker Debet it them Selvs for they Used to confer With Them and Not call me for you Both Used to Say that I Was A Fool and Nod no thing But [they] that you will Soon See [the] Rougs

29 Thursdy I Saw one Litel Girel A [bo] Bout 7 or 8 Yeares of Eadg But I

cannot Tell Name Nor Place Nor Wher She came from we Waited for Sum Moescesidges But they came Not We Lived Very Well For Vitels and Bede

30 [Fidy]¹⁰⁵ We Begane to mak Redy Belts and String for them to take with Them to Aligenia that Isack Still might Read them to the [] We had to Draw it in Larg Riting So as he could Read it and we Herd that the Meshes that we Sent from Digoa is on fute but is Not com to us yet and we all Staid to here from it I heard of A Prisner Girel Sister to Wiliames Name is Elesabath¹⁰⁶ A Most A Woman There was A old Dronk felo that Plaiged the king But When he was Sober he cam and give A Bout Two or three 100 hondred wampom for A trespas or Tribut for his Be hayer in Liker I Give up my Gun to the King and and he Give Me A Nothe gun

31 Seterdy Nothing But I Saw A Boy of A Bout 12 years No nam nor from wheare He came from but he wase With John fidler¹⁰⁷ [we had] Good help and Plenty of Provesion

June the first

1 Sondy we Sent A Meseig With Moses Tatemey Aan Bulle This is the Sekend Meseig that We have Sent and I heard from My Peopel By two Squaas¹⁰⁸ and They wanted [have] Me to help to Bild A hous But I would Not

2 Mondy the old Preast¹⁰⁹ Goes Round the houses Every Morning and [Eveng] Sayes Sum Sort of Prayers and he hase A Book of Pickters which he Maid him Self

101. This word is indistinct: **devilish**?

102. **Nata bene.** (Compare **Not Bney** in the entry for June 27.)

103. This sentence is evidently incomplete.

104. In Dec., 1755, Daniel Williams, the father, was killed, and his wife and five children captured in the Minisink region. Sir William Johnson later referred to information received in 1756 from "Margaret Williams . . . a Prisoner amongst the Delaware Indians."

105. Written in the margin.

106. See note 104 above. Elizabeth Williams and a brother, Henry, were released Aug. 19, 1762.

107. Apparently an Indian. One of John Hays' memoranda names an Indian, "John Fitler or Hays," probably the same person.

108. Possibly the "Two Women from beyond Atsenetsing" who, Post says, had come to Wyoming on May 16. If they went on from there to Bethlehem, they would pass Hays' home.

109. The name of this man is nowhere given, but it may be noted that Wangomen, a Munsee preacher whom Zeisberger met on the upper Allegheny in 1767, is said by him to have lived formerly at this town.

and there is Heaven and Hell and Rum and Swan hak¹¹⁰ and Indians and Ride Strokes for Rum¹¹¹ and he would Read Like Mad ofe it in the Morning and Sing to the Sune Rising May the 29 at Diaog the Peopel Saw A Straing Site in the Moon they Saw two horses In Batel and the one Next the Sun Set fell and the one Next Sun Riesing Prevled and they Saw Men falling on the horse that Fell Semed A Bout A fote Long and it was Seene By the Hole Town Men and Wemen The Indines was Very Much Sore Prised and vexed and Axed of us What it Meaned We Lived quite and Lved A Indien Life and Had Plenty of hominey But We had No fleash Sinc [the] Cantico¹¹² Tateme is come Back and Brings the Disegebel Newes that We Must Turn Bact and Not cary forder for the had Sum Bad Peopel in that contry But Would Not com to us for they Dorst Not Trust us Becase of them that was kiled over Siskhanian & the Nonty okes¹¹³ Was to com but they did Not com To To Pasikinking¹¹⁴

3 Tusty We had Plenty of Hominey But we had Now Bread Bull maid cofey and we Eat hominey and cofey to Gether and in the after Noon We had Teay the king Maid A kaake to it and We had Sum Buter Whit & Yelew and It Was Very Sweet and Good We Deliverd to the king Several Thing Was Making Ready for A Mearch & In the house Where we Lodged was the Govenor and [Acka] his Nam is Achkonk Mincig Govenarner and in the

other End of the hous A capen¹¹⁵ and [and he had] He had A Bordered Bedd and his Jornal on it and He was [16] 16 Times at the ware and had Taken 17 Prisners and there was one Women [&] the Reast had No heads on the Right hand and the Leaft A young capton¹¹⁶ and his Jurnal he has Bean At ware 6 Times tok 4 two dead and 2 A Live The Preast of the Town he keepes count of the Week for the Hole Town and he Workes 5 Days and Keepes the 6 Day and they way That he ceepes count he has A Litel Stiek with 12 holes [in it] and He Putis [is] it up A hol Every Morning¹¹⁷ and he Reades his Pictier Book till Noon and then Gose to his Work A Gain The Nantocok Chief Robert White Sent his Son with A Leater and Sayes he is Not Well and cold not com to See us but He Sent Sum Belts and Strings to the king and Spooke Well the Dansed All Night

4 Wensdy we thought to Set of but Reained Very hard and they Said That they Would Meet and Heve Sume talk Before we Went [Go] A way and the king and White Had A Long talk in the

110. Swannock, a white man.

111. Th's "Indian bible" is also described by Zeisberger (OHIO ARCH. AND HIST. QUARTERLY, XIX, 133, and XXI, 25); and the similar or identical device used by the contemporary "Delaware Prophet" is described by Heckewelder (HIST. . . . OF THE INDIAN NATIONS . . . , 1881 ed., 291-293), Kenny (PA. MAG. OF HIST. AND BIOG., XXXVII, 171), and McCullough (London: A SELECTION OF . . . OUTRAGES . . . , 1808 ed., I, 324-325).

112. An Indian festival.

113. Nanticokes.

114. Passigachkunk; see note 5 above.

115. Under date of May 31, Post records: "The name of the Chief of this Town is Achkonaching, of the Mennissing Tribe, The Name of his adjutant is Wejackkaposing, signifying a Pumpkin roast'd on one side." The latter is Hays' "capen" (captain). For **Achkonaching** (Hays' **Eghohowin**), see note 67 above. Jackkapus, according to Moravian writers, led the hostile Indians who in 1755 destroyed their mission of Gnadenhuetten (see note 15 above). Also known as "The Squash Cutter," he was a leader of the hostile Indians in Pontiac's War, when Sir William Johnson offered a reward for his head. Surrendered as a hostage at the conclusion of peace in May, 1765, he died soon after of smallpox. Samuel Kirkland, who met him in March of that year, wrote: "The SQUASH CUTTER . . . is a noted head warrior of the Delaware nation. He has done a deal of mischief in the back parts of New Jersey and the Susquehanna; scalped many, and taken some prisoners. . . . His exploits depend much upon stratagem, and surprise. He was acknowledged by the Indians to be bold, and enterprising, but very cruel. He was about six feet two inches high, lean and raw-boned, but all nerve, and a most piercing eye, rather of a serpentine cast."

116. Hays means that the captain had his bed on the right side, the young captain had his on the left.

117. Such "calendars" are referred to by Gist (W. M. Darlington: CHRISTOPHER GIST'S JOURNALS, 39) and by Zeisberger (OHIO ARCH. AND HIST. QUARTERLY, XXI, 52, 56).

Litel hous and we waited For the Town Meeting it cleared A litel [*& and*] We Got All our horses Shod For to Go Sume [*y*] up and Sum Down for we lived in Sospence A Grait While and heard all Wise Sum Bad News we heard Of A Woman that was kild at Albeney and we Stay to See Sum Soart of A Seckerefisit Pig By the chiefs of the Town Sum times we Expect to Go home and Sum times we Expect to Go With the king But that Seemes very Dengres for they Spak very Sose and Sum times we talk of Going A Road A crose the To the other Brench and By The Ketin Town¹¹⁸ and throw that was But we Do Not now What to Do the king Lead all the Belts out and there was Nine and 7 String and we Weated to here [*and so far*] and there wa[] Nothing

5 Thursdy the captten¹¹⁹ that Liveed in the house had A hog and would Make A Sort of Sacrifise And that hog must Be kiled & they Kilead it in [the] Morning Be fore the Sun Rise and Brought it in and Lead With its head to the fire and its Tail to A Post and the Capton Sat and Sang half A Nour and they had Maid A fire out and they Singsed it and Boild it on the Same fire and Every One that Did Eat [they] Got A Grain of coren the Hous was Swept and [the] fleash put in two Baskets in Smale Pesess and they Give A Peees to Every One that Got the corn but he Song A Great Deel our king Recived and Gives all corn [*and when*] of his compney and we Got A pees of it and the head had A Stick Stopt in it and the capton took it and Song Round the fires and Set it Down to one of them and he Eate Sum and Gote up Agen and Sonung Round the fire and they All coreced with him and he

Set it to Another til 10 or 12 Had hit and When the Bones Was Picked they give them to the caption and he Rose Up and and went Round and Song as he Went and at Last he put them in the fire we put [in the fire]¹²⁰ [*all*] the Bones we Eat and Bornt it all and Every one Rose and West Rown [*and Song*] the fire and Song and They Hole compney Joyned in coras and the Elders went Rown With the Fat and they Did drink it and When they came to Me I Would Not and they all Laft they Eat it With out Salt For it up Lik Mad¹²¹ & they Went and Devided thre or for fadom of Wampm and Give it to them that did Dance and they Went out at The East Dore and Went Rown the hous Agenst the Sun and the capton first and they all foloed Sounded to the Sun Rising and all haloed A Great While Sum Laft and Sum Look Mor Sad and they Song dreames of Sort of consration We were in coriged to Go on but it was But Dark for the old Rid cape chif¹²² Spok A Genst us and Said that the King and The Indens Might Pas but that we Shold Not For no Whit Man Shold Pas that way Thruw thir contry but the king Would Go and See and he Was not A Feard

6 Fridy we Set of and came to James Daviss and he was Very Kind and & we Got A Very Good Diner of Buter and Milk and we Went A bout 20 Miles A Nor west cors And it Rained we Lodged on the River Side¹²³ and This Day we crosed A creek¹²⁴ that Wase Prity Larg Aout A Quarter of A Mile from the Town

7 Seterdy it Rained & we had cofey To

118. Kittanning, by way of the Susquehanna West Branch.

119. Identified by Past as *lawkaposin* (*Wejachkapos-ing*; see note 115 above).

120. Written in the margin.

121. "They ate it up like mad, without salt."

122. Compare PA. ARCHIVES, first series, 111, 28, 43, 51, where red hats and blankets identify Indians from the Ohio region.

123. Mileage estimates for this and the following day indicate a camp below present Cameron Mills.

124. Probably Cohactan River, crossed soon after leaving "Asinsan." Compare the entry for June 22, on the return.

Brexefast and Sum of them Set of and we all Set of and cane by Two or three Towns¹²⁵ and Saw two Prisners one was A man and the oher A Letel Boy [*We crosed*] We went A Bout 15 Miles to Tek-esakacunk¹²⁶ Where we Arived At Three A cloce¹²⁷ we crosed the River five Times it Stanes on the North Side of the River¹²⁸ the River is very Smale Good Land And in the Evening there came From the Mohak Town A Bout A 12 of them & they Looked Like the Very Divcl that wase the Town that they Said they Would Rost us If we came thear and we wery With in half A mile of it Now¹²⁹ Bot they wetn of A Gen home.

8 Sundy the indines Gatheres [*fr*] From All [*ye*] Litel Tounes Be low To Councel Whither we went or not Bak or foret So we wait

9 Mondy Like wise and there was A Sort of A Secrifies of A Deare they Boiled it All and Brought in the flesh When it was Boiled in A Basket And old Nutmess¹³⁰ was The oldest Man that was there and he came and Did eat his fill of it and the Broth was thick With Mell and He got the Skine on his Sholder And went out and haloed and then the king Got up and Give To Every one and it was the first that Man had killed in the Seasen Nutmess Got the Skine Thanks and Blising we Dineed Sumpttously.

10 Tusdey they Gatherd from all Quar-ters I saw two Prisners One Wase A Boy about 18 yers old and A Gircl of the Same Eadg But they Would Not Spak to me

11 Wensdy they held councel and All A Gread to it and then [*we*] We wer to Go on our Jorney they Head Man of that Town Must Go along With us and we must Stay Till he Gets A New hous coverd the cros felowes comes and Dances With the rest and Look pleasent Be [*Wat*] What they Did we are not A Bout half A Days Jorney From they head of Sisquaney They had Rim¹³¹ With in half A [*M*] Mile of us and the King¹³² alow of Aney of his conpney to Drink he Said he Did Not com here to Drink he came on Grater Besness then to Drink Last night thay Said that there was [*e*] Rum A coming and that he Shold joyn He said he would Not

12 Thirsdey we Bought A Bull and killed Him and rosted the flesh for our Jorney he coust 3£-10S and the all Went home his Day and we Resolved to Work at guittiking is house¹³³ and then We Will Go That Day When they All A Geed they Laid Down A Blanket and Preadeamed A Publick collection and for Joy the Wemen and Girels and children throd in wampom till There Wase 14 fathem for to helpe For strings on our Jorney they Seemed Very Glead they Seem More Sivel then before

13 Fridey we Went out to Work and When we BeeGan the Miscetes Bit So Bad that I wase obledged to Rap My hancerchf A Bout My Fase Bot the young Men Went ot the Town that was A Bove us and they Were All Drunk and here was None To work Isaik Still and Jamey¹³⁴ & I and When we came home they Were all com to our Town and Going Like as Many Divels we left Post and Moses to Rost

125. Compare the entry for June 19, where Hays says there were no settlements between James Davis's and "Cushinsten Tawn," above which the Indians were settled "all along the river" to Canisteo, six miles above.

126. Possibly merely an erratic spelling of Passigach-kunk; or the first syllable may be the Delaware *tang-*, little. The "lower tawn" is referred to in some accounts as "little Passeeca" or "Little Paasica"; and Hays, on June 17, calls it "this Litel Tawn Pasecakung."

127. The journal gives the time as four o'clock. Post says they stopped an hour at the first house they came to; this may explain the discrepancy.

128. The journal places the tawn on the south side. Possibly this, too, refers to the first stopping place; the scattering of huts may have stood on both sides of the stream, which Hays says was here "very Smale."

129. This is the "upper tawn," which Hays had not yet visited. In the journal he says the two settlements were a mile apart.

130. Nutimus; see note 10 above.

131. Rum, evidently at the "upper tawn."

132. The words *did not* must be supplied.

133. "Guittiking's house"; see note 54 above.

134. James Peepy; see note 58 above.

Sheare of the Bule and and they wer ferd
A Nuf but Post Went out in they After
Noon and Left Me to help Moses But the
Rum was Soon Don and they Went to slep
and the Work Went Slow the man kiled
A hog for they frolick and the king took
Two Drames and No Mor the wather if
good I was Reding in the testament and
one of them Struck it out of my Hand
and I was alledged to Quat I Durst Not
Reead But sum times When they were in
A Good Ulmer and Not Long at A tim

14 Seterdy I Denied to work and I Went
And Maid A Spoon And Mr Post Aan
Isack Went to work then I Resolved that
Would Not Dow Then I Went out & Said
that I Would Work But there was Nobody
to Take care of thing at Home and I would
Split¹³⁵ But I Went Rong and they Said
That I must Go home and cook Diner I
had to Boil the Last of The Bull and I
Maid very Good Broth¹³⁶—Then we herd
that The frensh had Besedged [at] they
Falls the Inglesh [at Nigra] and was at
Batel Now they told us that There was 7 or
8 Mohak kings coning to convers with us
we heard the would come to the town that
was Not But Half A Mile from us Where
they Said that the would Rost us if we
came to it we are in the Subburb of it this
9 Days

15 Sundy and in the Efternoon they
Said that ye would come & when they
came there But one capton with Sum
chiefs and they came and held A confranc
With the king We did Not Know Whither
they would Send us Back or Not For we
were onder there orders for we Must Go
throw their contry if we Go to Aligeney
But they Seemed To come Lik men and
not Lik the others That came first from
that Town But When they heard Sum of
they Speeches they Said Sum of they Re-

quists Was very¹³⁷ but to Moro the would
Give A Nancer that was A Bout The
Prisners and ot Let us Pass thrw For they
Would Let No whit man Go throw thire
contry by Sum old A Greement A Mongst
them Selves For feer of Spies to See the
Land This Day I Saw a Prisner Girell
[She was A Doutor of Jacab Bayres]¹³⁸
of About 9 or 10 years old that [cal] came
with A[an] old Squa that came From the
Town A Bove and She Broght A Basket
full of Shuger and Bred ot us And I heard
of A women that came From Aligeney
they Say that She Wase wife to one Miler
that Lived Sum where Back over Sischea-
nea and there was About 30 in compeny
With the capton

16 Mundy Now we waited for our
Sentens Which they Soon Give to Go
home fore they Were Sory that [we]
Were in the Kings Bosem for they Said
that it would Be Bad for [thim]¹³⁸ the
Mohakes and for the Dolewarers For they
Said that If we went on Our Jorney that
Porhapes there Would Rise A Storm and
that The Limes Might Breck and fall and
knock out our Breanes and [we]¹³⁸ they
Would Be Sory for they Would be
Bleamed for it and the Doliwares and that
they had Be Gun A [Peas] Good Work
of Peas them Selves and That they were
going Back Soon to Alegeney to confirm it
But they Said that we must Go home A
Gene But the King Said that he Would
Go up the Morow and Spak to Them and
I Saw one Boy A Prisner that came from
that Town and the capten Spoak Very
coragesly and With Great corage and they
Went Home that Night and So [Mr] Mr
Post Would Spak to them To Morow

17 Tusday we went over to the Please
Where they Said they Would Rost us we
went at 12 A clock and Staid there till 5
oures and had A confranenes with them

135. I. e., shingles or clapboards (from which the town apparently derived its name).

136. In contrast to the cook of Moy 19!

137. The word **hard** must be supplied.

138. Written in the margin.

and We Did Eat with them But they Said that we Must Go Back Then we Resolved that we Shold Go to Morow Morneng we [Sete] Setled With one A Nother Old Tikean¹³⁹ is the chief of this Litel Town Pascakung the 2 Townes hase But one Name¹⁴⁰ the Mingo Chiefes Names we could Not find out But one Wapenga¹⁴¹ he Spock all

He is the chife capten and I saw A Prisner Boy of A Bout 9 or 10 yeares of Eadg they Say that there is 2 Neagors¹⁴² Lves in that Town That had Run from they inhabetenc and they Live in Packunkung

there Wase one Pasckokung how was The Mane that killed Joseph Croker¹⁴³ As we Went over to the Town he came Be hind Me and Strock me and Said that he Never would Love [The] White men any More and Drove Along But My flesh creeped on My Back to think that I Must Bear Such usige of A Sevedges is Hand But I Laft and Said Nothing but Wish My Self out of thire Contry and he was A Shaner¹⁴⁴

One Rose in councel and Said that They were Poor Teveren keepers and Dearc for he Got But 6 fulls of A Misher [for a Ribond Stroud]¹⁴⁵ and it was so litel that his Kock could Not Go in it and [he had But A litel one] Said he had But A Litel one [kock] Neither

18 Wensdy [we left he king]¹⁴⁵ We waited All Day for A Pilet to conduck us Back Agen It wase Wete in they Morning But it cleared up and then we Give the Soral hors to king Tikeun And Sedel and Bridel and fited him for the Jorney to Algeney We Expect to Go Moro Early of

19 Thursdy [We heard Sum Ling S'ories]¹⁴⁵ we Set of from compeny Packung Without [xxxxBody] [A teare and it wase] A Bout Ten A cloace We had in compeney 4 Mohaks and Moseas Tatemey the 4 John Kooek¹⁴⁶ And the Shayner¹⁴⁷ That killed Joseph Croker For A Bout 6 Miles the inding are Seteled All A Long the River then Cushinsten Town Where the Money chief Lives¹⁴⁸ and there Lives No More Till we com to James Daves

20 Fridrey we were A Bledged to Weite for A Scort that day it Rained and Wase Very wat the Were Vert kind to us the Neame of that Pleace is [O] Wopackung¹⁴⁹ Very timberly Sort of Low Land from that to cuskins¹⁵⁰ and very Taul Pines But it is Not Good For anything and The hiles is good for Nothing They

139. Guitt'king of the entry for June 12; see note 54 above.

140. Passig-chkunk (Secaughung) in Delaware usage; Canisteo to the "Mingoes"; see note 5 above.

141. Past, under date of June 15, calls him Wapenchachy (Delaware wapin tschachke, a garfish). This is the Delaware name for "Kinderuntie, or the Garr," a Seneca chief of Kanuskaga (present Dansville, N. Y.), who since 1756 had attended Sir William Johnson's councils. In the spring of 1760 he carried on negotiations with the Wyandots and other western Indians. In 1762 Johnson suspected him of hostile schemes, which he denied. At the Lancaster Treaty of the same year, he refused Governor Hamilton permission to ship trade goods by the Susquehanna West Branch. On the way home from this treaty he became involved in a dispute with another Seneca, and received wounds of which he apparently died.

142. Several accounts mention these men. Prisoners freed in 1764 identify them as "a Mulatta, . . . a Blacksmith," whom they gave a good reputation, and "A Large Lusty Negro" (PAPERS OF SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON, IV, 495). In 1768, Zeisberger met on the Genesee River two Negroes who "lived among the Indians in Assinnis-sink, on the Tiaagu even before the war and, after the Indians there had fled, they found refuge among the Senecas" (OHIO ARCH. AND HIST. QUARTERLY, XXI, 83).

143. A workman helping to build Teedyuscung's new town at Wyoming; killed and scalped, May 27, 1758, by a Shawnee from Canisteo.

144. A Shawnee.

145. Written in the margin.

146. John Caak, a grandson of French Margaret. He attended a peace treaty at Easton in 1756, after which he and two other Indians attacked a home at the western end of present Berks Co., killing a man and capturing a girl, Catharine Yaeger.

147. "Pascakung" of June 17. As has been observed (note 64 above), Past says there were only three "Mingoes," whom he identifies as John Caak, Pashechgua, and a third who "had a Scalp hanging to his Breast & a Dutchman's Coat on."

148. Referred to by Past, June 7, as "Kashkash, where the Chief of the Menissings lives." It is also referred to as "Hagtawn."

149. James Davis's. Past says, June 6, "his Town is call'd Opashiskung & has abt. 10 Houses." Zeisberger gives the name as Woapassisku (OHIO ARCH. AND HIST. QUARTERLY, XXI, 11). It means "white clay place."

150. The "Cushinsten Tawn" of June 19; see note 148.

are All Swampes and Piness the King Said that He Would Go of this Day in his Journey for Alegeney we Pearted With them yesterdy the 19 of June

21 Seterdy I saw a Prisneres that Wase taken in Virgeney his Name Wase Wagner his Father was Killed he Lives in the Mingo contry I saw A Girel of 3 or 4 years old that Man Spoak to me he was A Bout 22 Years of eadg

22 Sundy this Morning we Pearted With Moses Tatemey he went Back A Gean to the King and We have Got A Scort to Go with us We came to a Cree¹⁵¹ and it was so hie That I was Ableadged to take my Bage on my Sholder and Go throw To Asoinsen¹⁵² and Daves¹⁵³ Left us and We came on till Night Picht our camp one the River Side there are Very fine Low Lands and tall Pines Timber

23 Mundy It Rained very hard we came [*th*] to frensh Marget A bout 10 A clock and She was very cind and Spoak very faire and Said that She Did Not know what to Dow for She was ill used at Shomoking and Thretned and that Peters Said they Should be A Prebended and that Caty¹⁵⁴ had Promesed to Deliver the Prisners and I Promest her Prottion to Town we came to [*Toigo*] Tiogo and Lodg there that Nigt

24 Tusdy Digoa River and Siskhaney Two miles up is Not 20 Rods A Pert¹⁵⁵ Dioag was very high we Sweamed Our horses over with Much Defickelty and Set of for Mochilucan But the Mountens was so Bade that we could Not Get along we crosed 2 Montanes Mountens and when we came to the Creek we cold Not Go over that Night we in camped But the

Neates wase Lik to Eate us up With Defiektely we Got over To the Town Where we Got Whete cakes and A very good

25 [W] [Wensdy]¹⁵⁶ Breackfast and they Went in council

Tobe Deanes came in compeny With us till here and A nother Man and we Lay here this Day and Livesis Well the had A Sort of Worship and they Dansed Round and Two Beat the Skine and Wemen and Mem A Religes Danee

26 Thursdy we Set of and John Rodger To A Scort us to Wimeang and it did Rain Very hard and we Got A cnow and John Went in the cannow and Took our Luges and Mr Post and I Went Singel horce Then we Met A Gen and I Wenē in the cannow My torn till Night and we cam to A Learg creeak¹⁵⁷ and wase A Beadged to Sweam The horces over it and there we in camped it Rained very hard and the Nates Wase So Plenty that We could harly Live for them I got No Sleepe in the Mrning [*T*] horses was Blace With them it Rained on All Night

27 Fridey Set of very early it Rained Still [*M*] Mr Post Took the cannow and we met [*him*] at A hill Where the hill and the River Met in A Streat Pashedg where the horces had to Sweem we had to go in the cannow A Great Pease then we Set of agen Then we came to A Nother crecak¹⁵⁸ and wase A Bleadged to Sweam the horces A Gene and The hiles was Very Slipey the horces Got Maney A Dispert Falle we thought theire Bones wold Be Broken uvery Minet it Sleacked Raining With Defickelty we came to Wioming that Night and wase Thankfull for our Safe

151. Probably Cahactan River; see the entry for June 6, and note 124 above.

152. Or "Asinsan"; see note 31 above.

153. James Davis

154. Catherine, French Margaret's daughter; see note 68 above.

155. At present Athens, Pa.

156. Written in the margin. The date is obviously misplaced, and should precede the words **With Defiektely** . . .

157. Identified by Past as **Tinkkaneck** (Tunkhan-nack).

158. Identified by Past as **Lechchowichlao** (Lackawanna).

A Rvel there But I Saw A Sthreangthing
thing that Sum Inding Had Doon he had
Maid Sume Trackes in A hard hill with
His feete and Struck A whit Oack tree
[Strokes] With his fist till he Had Nocked
of the Bark and Broke the Wood With
his fist—NotBney¹⁵⁹ I Saw 3 Prisneres at
Frensh Margetes Dwelling That was the
Last I Saw

28 Seterdy it is A Hease Morning We
Set of and Soforth By Mee John Hays

The following entries appear on later
pages of the notebook:

A. [Jo] John Hays did Enter in the
Servics With Fredrick Post and caption
Bull May the 5—1760

B. May the 16	1760
I ame in Deat to Mis Poist	
For Mockison Leather	£SD
John Hays	02 6
June the 16th	

¹⁵⁹. Nota bene; see note 102 above.

To A Hundred Wampum
I Got from [Mr] Mr Post
and half A hundred wampem
For the colection
To / June the 18—1760
The King Had A Short of
£SD

Mee at08 0

C. June the 3 1760

By Isack Still Deat Balens

L SD

and it Comes to1—3-6

the 17 To A Short 00 18 0

& to A pere of Mockeson 0 5 0

totell 2: 6.6

June the 3 1760

Moses Teatemey is in Deat

£ S D

for A Peare of Stokens ..00 5 and 6

*The present article is adapted from THE FORBIDDEN PATH, an unpublished account of Teedyuscung's embassy to the western Indians in 1760. In presenting this material we wish to acknowledge the friendly interest and very practical help of the Hon. Charles G. Webb of Tioga County.

